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KĀNDALŪR ŚĀLAI

ஸ்ரீலஸ்ரீ ஆறுமுக நாவலர்
ஞாபகார்த்த புத்தகசாலை
காரைக்குடி.

IMS0699

60

S. DESIKAVINAYAKAM PILLAI

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A SHORT NOTE
on
KĀNDALŪR ŚĀLAI

By
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Putheri, Nagercoil

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With a foreword
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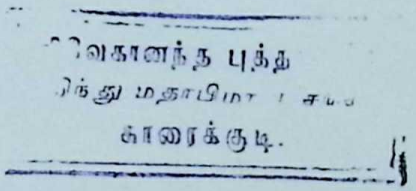

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Koviloor Acadamy

Published in memory of
the late Mr. R. Chidambarakrishna Aiyar, of Cape Comorin,
my class-mate, friend, and co-worker in the
field of epigraphy

Koviloor Acadamy

FOREWORD

When in 1929 Mr. S. Desikavinayakam Pillai published in Series 2 of *Kerala Society Papers* (pp.100-106) his interpretation of the much-discussed expression காந்த ளூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுத்தருளி I was sure that the question was once for all set at rest by his mature, well-thought-out conclusions expressed in those pages (pp.1-8 in this booklet). I was quite at one with him on all points except his argument based on the word அருளி. But the supporters of Dr. Hultzsch's third interpretation appear to be still demurring, although Prof. Nilakanta Sastri admits "that the earliest mention of Kandalur (T.A.S., I, p.6) does support Mr. Desikavinayakam Pillai's interpretation." (*The Colas*, p.200).

Dr. Hultzsch after having vacillated and groped for some time in the epigraphic darkness of his days, gave his third interpretation to the world about 44 years ago. Much water has flowed under the bridge since then, and a very large number of Tamil inscriptions, old Tamil works, and the monumental *Tamil Lexicon* (Vol. I. in 1924) were published during that long period of enlightenment. Mr. Desikavinayakam Pillai with characteristic assiduity, evident even in advanced age, has made an intelligent and discriminating study of these epigraphs and books as well as many unpublished documents in Tamil and Vatteluthu, which has led him to the very sensible interpretation given in this booklet, besides enabling him to help in an efficient manner in the compilation of the later volumes of the *Tamil Lexicon* and contribute his quota to the elucidation of several problems of South Indian history and epigraphy. Mr. Pillai's arguments in support of his interpretation must, I believe, carry conviction to an unbiased mind. It may be the word அறுத்து that still remains a stumbling block to the Hultzschites. Further study on their part will in all likelihood tend to remove it from their path in the near future.

It seems to me that the College and dining hall (sala, சாலை) at Kandalur in Trivandrum, were originally founded by a local king Sri-Vallabhan Karunandadakkan in

Koviloor Acadamy

about A.D. 850, and that later he (ஸ்ரீ வல்லவன் கருநந்தடக்கன்) instituted a College at Parthivasekharapuram close by and at Cape Comorin after the model of that Mahasala (வலியசாலை, பெருஞ்சாலை). I think also that Rajaraja the Great (A.D. 985 to 1014) first took possession of the Kantalur College as the rebel leader, Gen. Francisco Franco, took possession of the University of Madrid recently on 16th November 1936. Such an exploit is referred to as "சேரலன்சாலையும் தண்டாற்கொண்ட" in an inscription of Rajadhiraja, a successor of his, and as "சாலைகொண்டதும் தண்டுகொண்ட்ல்லவோ" in the poem *Kalingattupparani*. கலமறுத்தல், *i.e.*, arrangements for the regular feeding of the students there, were made by Rajaraja the Great soon after having assumed possession of the Sala. The initial mistake of having taken சாலைகொண்டு (took possession of the Sala) and சாலைகலமறுத்து (regulated the feeding there) as synonymous has, I fear, contributed much to cloud the issue.

I wish Mr. Desikavinayakam Pillai's booklet the success it richly deserves by reason of the wealth of material furnished and the cogency of his arguments, and indulge the hope that many more of such valuable contributions from his pen will be given to the world without delay.

Thuckalay,
27th November, 1936.

T. K. JOSEPH

Koviloor Acadamy

ABBREVIATIONS.

K. S. Papers. *Kerala Society Papers*, Trivandrum.

S.I.I. *South Indian Inscriptions.*

T.A.S. *Travancore Archæological Series.*

The Colas. *The Cōḷas*, by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archæology, University of Madras.

University of Nalanda. *The University of Nālandā*, by Hasmukh D. Sankalia, M.A., LL.B.

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A Short Note on Kāndalūr Śālai

The field of research is neither a Czardom nor a Sultanate. It is a republic where even the humblest day-labourer has a duty to perform and a right to express his views. Such or nearly such is the spirit that animates my pen to write the following lines.

To those acquainted with the inscriptions of South India, the expression காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுத்தருளி (Kantalurchchalai kalamaruttaruli) may not be unfamiliar. The earliest reference to it is found in an epigraph dated in the 8th year of the reign of Raja Raja I.* The King in one of his later inscriptions is extolled as காந்தளூர்ச் சாலை கலமறுத்த ராஜராஜதேவன் (Kantalurchchalai kalamarutta Rajaraja Devan).

What is the significance of this epithet? And why is he given that title? The answers to these questions remain still a conjecture. The interpretation of this puzzling line has undergone evolutionary, if not revolutionary, changes at the hands of more than one antiquarian of this Presidency. It has no doubt proved to be a veritable ass's bridge in the realm of South Indian epigraphy. The very fact that different meanings have been given to it at different times, clearly shows what a knotty expression it is and how much it has taxed the brains of scholars who have attempted an explanation. Dr. Hultzsch was the first who tried it.† His three different interpretations are as shown under:

(1) (The King) was pleased to build a jewel-like hall at Kandalur;

(2) (The King) was pleased to cut the vessel at Kandalur; and

*"Though this title appears from the fourth year, no inscription of Raja Raja has been found in the Kerala and Pandya countries bearing a date earlier than the eighth year."

"The Darsanankoppu record (T.A.S., I. p.238) seems to be the earliest so far known." (*The Colas*, p.200.)

†(1) S.I.I., I. p.65.
(2) Ibid., II. Part I. pp.35, 47, 72; Part II. pp.123, 128.
(3) Ibid., pp.241, 250.

(3) (The King) was pleased to destroy the ships at the roadstead of Kandalur.

It may easily be seen that not one of the meanings given above is tenable. The first two of these convey no sense at all and may at once be dismissed as not deserving of any consideration. But the third one cannot be so easily set aside. It is the one exposition generally accepted at present and so requires a careful and critical examination. The learned Doctor himself says in a foot-note that it is the correct translation of the line under discussion. The Tamil expression காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுத்தருளி contains only four words (or five, if அறுத்தருளி (aruttaruli) is treated as two words.) காந்தளூர் (Kantalur) is evidently the name of a village.* Where was it situated? Is it possible to identify it with any known place? What is the significance of the word சாலை (chalai)? Does it refer to a roadstead or a charitable institution? What do the words கலம் (kalam) and அறுத்தருளி (aruttaruli) mean? All these are questions that have to be considered before a satisfactory explanation of the line can be offered.

Let us now take up the questions one by one. The identification of Kandalur forms the first point to be settled. That it was situated in the Chera country very near the sea-coast is evident from the following passage: 'சேரலன் வேலிகெழுகாந்தளூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுத்தருளி', occurring in one of the lithic records of Rajakesari Varman alias Rajadhirajan. Dr. Hultzsch vaguely surmises that Kandalur is a place in the மலைநாடு (Malainadu). Mr. K. V. Subramonia Aiyar locates it in the Taluk of Neyyattinkara. In support of his statement it may be added that a reference to the Travancore Devaswam hand-book shows that a temple called காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை மகாதேவர்கோயில் is situated in the Kulathur Pakuti of the above Taluk. But Mr. Gopinatha Rao identifies காந்தளூர் with a suburb of Trivandrum, known by the name of Valiya Chalai at present.

*Chalai (சாலை) cannot be taken as a part of the name of the place. The ending oor (ஊர்) in Kandalur (காந்தளூர்) is quite sufficient to show that it is an inhabited locality. The addition of Chalai (சாலை) over and above this, would be superfluous as a place-indicating suffix.
(Contra: *The Colas*, p.200, foot-note.)

Koviloor Acadamy

He has ably supported his view with extracts from temple chronicles and inscriptions both published and unpublished. Further, a few additional and corroborative pieces of evidence also are made available now by the publication of the Travancore Revenue Manual. Some of the documents included in the fifth volume of that book clearly refer to a காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை மகாதேவர்கோயில் (Kantalur Chalai Mahadevar Temple) as existing within the town limits of Trivandrum.

Now the question arises which of the two places is the real original Kandalur Salai. Is it the village of Valiya Chalai at Trivandrum or that in the Kulathur Pakuti of the Neyyattinkara Taluk? Mr. K V. Subramonia Aiyar evidently committed a mistake in assuming that the name of the village in which the temple of Kandalur Salai Mahadevar stands is Kandalur Salai itself. Nothing is farther from the truth than this. The Deity is not called after the village nor the village after the Deity. The story of Romulus and Rome does not find a parallel in this case. On enquiry it is found that the name of the village in the Neyyattinkara Taluk is Kulathur and not Kandalur Salai. The topographical map of the Taluk also does not show any such place being situated there. The temple itself is in ruins now. It is only a petty devaswam—a small shrine—possessing hardly anything reminiscent of its past glory or greatness. Its expenditure does not exceed 36 parahs of paddy and Rs.16 per annum. It must, in my opinion, be a small private temple, a chapel at best, erected by some devotee of Kandalur Salai Mahadevar for his worship somewhere near his residence, or for some other reason which further researches may perhaps disclose. The temples of திருவேங்கடத்தப்பர் (Tiruvenkadathappar) at Azhakiapandiapuram, of சிதம்பரேசுவரர் (Chidambareswarar) at Suchindram, and of காஞ்சிபுர மகாதேவர் (Kanchipura Mahadevar) at Trivandrum may be cited here as instances supporting the view we have been expressing above.[1]

[1] This and six other numbered references refer to Notes by Mr. T. K. Joseph (pp.9-11.)

But the case of the big Siva Temple at Valiya Chalai is quite different. It is one of the major temples owned by the Government of Travancore. The annual expenditure incurred runs up to Rs.7,361 at present. The mutilated inscriptions of Rajendra Chola* and, Ravivarma found there bear eloquent testimony to its high antiquity. The name Valiya Chalai[2] itself is significant. Since a discussion of this point would involve an elaborate review and examination of the history of Buddhist institutions and their influence in Malabar, it is not attempted here at present. From what we have stated above it is clear that Mr. Gopinatha Rao's identification of Kandalur with Valiya Chalai[3] is correct and may be accepted beyond all doubt.

The next point to be settled is the import of the word சாலை (chalai). Dr. Hultzsch at first took it to mean a 'hall', but he afterwards gave this up in favour of a 'roadstead', which he might have been led to suggest by the fact of the place being mentioned as close to the ocean and also by the occurrence of the word கலம் (kalam) which may be taken as a shortened form of மரக்கலம் (marakkalam), ship.

Mr. Gopinatha Rao rightly questions this interpretation and explains that. சாலை (chalai) is no other than a charitable institution where Brahmans are regularly fed. The use of the word in this sense is amply borne out by quotations classical as well as inscriptional†. The expressions அக்கிரசாலை, அறச்சாலை, etc. are very common even at the present day. That the word means a roadstead is yet to be proved. Literature does not support it and usage is against it.

The third word to be dealt with is kalam. With regard to this also the view expressed by Dr. Hultzsch is not tenable. He simply vacillates and does not arrive at any correct conclusion. First he tries the meaning 'jewel', then he gives it up and interprets the word as a 'vessel'. Lastly he adopts the third meaning 'ship'

*See Appendix I. †See Appendix III.A.

Koviloor Acadamy

(மரக்கலம்). But none of these would fit the facts here.* Mr. Gopinatha Rao, on the other hand, takes the word to mean (1) உண்கலம் (unkalam), a vessel or leaf from which one eats one's food, hence (2) 'seat' by a slight extension of the meaning. That his first interpretation of the word is sound and reasonable may be evident from the numerous quotations he has given in support of his view (vide T.A.S., II. pp.3, and 4 foot-note). The following extracts from inscriptions published since his death leave no room for doubt that the first meaning assigned to the word by Mr. Gopinatha Rao is the correct one:—

I. S.I.I., IV. No. 1246, p.432.

1. "ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ கொலோத்துங்க சோழதேவர்க்கு யாண்டு [சஉஈ]...
2. கதேவர் பொன்கொண்டருளி சிங்களப்பிடா(ர)ர்க்கு...வலிச...
3. பரிசாவது இதுயிறையிலிதவிர்வதாகவும் அந்தராயமுட்பட்ட இறைதவிர்
4. வதாகவும் மகேசுவரமடத்திலே முப்பதுகலமுண்பதாகவும்தம் முலை
5. டயதிருக்கையாலேஎழுத்திட்டுத்தந்தது. இதுக்குப்பதினெய்ம்ப
6. தப்பதினெய்ம்பலத்தால் பதினெய்ஞ்சுகலமும் பத்துப்பசுவும்
7. இரண்டு அடிமையும் பீத்தாரயவற்கம் நிற்ககடவிதாக. இத் தன்ம
8. ம் அழிவுபண்ணுவான் தங்களம்மைக்குத்தானே மிணைளன், இத்த
9. ன்மம் நடப்பித்தான் ஸ்ரீபாதமிரண்டும் சிங்களப்பிடாரனேன்த
10. லமேலன."

In this inscription 30 vessels of food are arranged for, but only 15 vessels each weighing 15 palams are supplied. Evidently the donor intends giving each person two meals a day—one in the morning and the other in the evening.

II. "இவ்வையன் விழுப்பேரையன்வைத்த திருவக்கிரம்பத் துக்கலமும் முட்டாதே உண்பதாக இப்பூமிவிற்றுக்குடுத்தோம்." T.A.S., IV. p.119.

III. "ஆதன்துருத்திப்பிழாரி கோயிலுக்கு வடகிழக்குகோ தைசேந்நனூர்காடு நூற்றுக்கலம் ஒருகலம்திருவக்கிரத்தினு. ஸ்வ- கொச்சாகரியில் பந்திருகலமும் வட்டிகரியில் எழுபத்தைம்பறை யுங்கூட திருவக்கிரம் ஒருகலம்." T.A.S., II. p.175.

*Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar of the Tamil Lexicon office is of opinion that 'கலம்' is a shortened form of கலாம் (Tamil) or of கலஶம் (Skt.). But he has not shown any usage in support thereof.

Koviloor Acadamy

It is easy now to understand that the term கலம் (kalam)[4] has often been used with reference to the feeding of Brahmans in a charitable institution.*

Now the words அறுத்து (aruttu) and அருளி (aruli) have to be examined next. Both Dr. Hultzsch and Mr. Gopinatha Rao interpret the word அறுத்து (aruttu) as cut or destroyed. It is quite wrong. The word அறுத்து (aruttu)[5] may here be taken as a shortened form of வரையறுத்து.† It means to determine, to resolve, decide or settle முடிவுசெய்தல், or to distribute பங்கிட்டுக்கொடுத்தல் (Tamil Lexicon). The other word அருளி (aruli) is used here only as an auxiliary showing respect or reverence.

In the light of the explanation given above, the passage காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுத்தருளி may be rendered thus: "The King was pleased to make an endowment and fix the number of kalams, (*i.e.*, literally, the number of dinner-plates), and hence the number of Brahmans to be fed in the institution of Kandalur." The Huzur Office plates published in T.A.S., I., strongly support this view. The subject matter of this document is the construction of a temple and a college at Parthivasekharapuram and the making of rich endowments to both by a chieftain called கோக்கருநந்தடக்கன் (Kokarunantadakkan). The following passage occurring therein deserves special notice: "காந்தளூர் மரியாதையால் தொண்ணூற்றைவர் சட்டர்க்குச் சாலையும் செய்தான் ஸ்ரீகோக்கருநந்தடக்கன்."

Here it is explicitly stated that the Vedic College was founded after the model of that at Kandalur. From this it may easily be inferred that Kandalur Salai was an ancient institution, the Nalanda of the South, and that it was looked upon as a model by the people of that time. The distribution of kalams is referred to in the said document as follows: "இச்சாலைக்குப் பெய்த கலத்தில் பவிழிய சரணத்தாருடைய கலம் நாற்பத்தைந்து, தயித்திரிய சரணத்தாருடைய கலமுப்பத்தாறு, தலவகாரசரணத்தாருடைய கலம்பதினலு, இனிவருங்கலம் மூன்று சரணத்தாருக்கும் ஓப்பது."

The point of the expression அறுத்தருளி (aruttaruli) is made clear in the above by the manner in which the

*See Appendix III.B. †See Appendix III.C.

Koviloor Acadamy

kalams are settled and distributed among the three Saranathars (சரணத்தார்).

Mr. Gopinatha Rao explains காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுத்தருளி thus: "The King discontinued the kalam (by implication, the feeding) in Kandalur." This is highly improbable. The act of destruction or discontinuance of an institution of the kind referred to here can never be attributed to a great conqueror like Raja Raja I. who was famous for his charitable gifts all over the country.

Messrs. K. V. Subramonia Aiyar and A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar have upheld the third interpretation of Dr. Hultzsch, namely, the King was pleased to destroy the ships at the roadstead of Kandalur, and the sheet-anchor of their argument appears to be the following clause: "வீரபாண்டியன் தலையும் சேரலன்சாலையும் இலங்கையும் கண்டாற்கொண்ட கோவிராஜகேசரிபற்மரான உடையார் ஸ்ரீராஜாதிராஜதேவன்", found in one of the inscriptions. Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar tries to make capital out of the phrase கண்டாற் கொண்ட and adds that the combination of the expression சேரலன் சாலை with வீரபாண்டியன் தலை and இலங்கை in the above would preclude the meaning of a charitable institution being given to the term சாலை. How it does I am unable to understand. May not a king conquer a country and take possession of* its important institution[6], the pride of the people and the centre of their intelligence? Would it look inappropriate in any way?

Again, Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar tells us that the Chera kings of the early days maintained powerful fleets at Kandalur, Karaikkandeswaram and Talaikkulam†, and that several attempts were made by neighbouring kings to destroy them. But he has not given any authorities in support of that statement. Certainly the lines "காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுத்தருளி, கறைக்கண்டேசுவரத்துக் கலமற்றயாண்டு and தலைக்குளத்துக் கலமற்றயாண்டு" cannot help him in the matter, since the interpretation of these very expressions is in dispute. Raja Raja I. and his worthy son Rajendra Chola were no doubt very powerful kings in their days. Their ships ploughed the Bay of Bengal and reached even such distant places as Burma,

*See Appendix IV. †See the Survey Plan.

Koviloor Acadamy

Ceylon, Siam, Sumatra, etc. But the maritime activities of their contemporaries in the Chera country do not appear to have been very much in evidence at that time. There is not even a scrap of record to show that the Chera kings maintained a powerful navy in the places stated above.[7]

The words அறுத்து and அருளி of the expression அறுத்தருளி will be quite mismatched or ill-combined if the former means 'to destroy'. The term அருளி implies that it is done by somebody worthy of reverence and respect. It seldom follows a verb expressing a deed of destruction. We never say கொன்றருளி unless perhaps the person destroyed happens to be a Ravana or a Surapadma. Was the Chera king of the time of Raja Raja I. so dreaded by all and so hated too as to justify a reference to the destruction of his navy as an act of grace?

S.D.P.

Koviloor Acadamy

NOTES BY T. K. JOSEPH

1. See Vol. I, *K. S. Papers*, Trivandrum, pp.71-72, for another example, that of Tiruvallalappan of Malayikkil, 80 miles away from Tiruvalla.

2. There is a place called Mahasala (which is equivalent to Tamil Valiya Chalai, a great feeding-house) in North India, with an Asokan tope, in front of which Yuan Chwang, 7th century, saw an Asokan pillar with an inscription. There are now four localities in Trivandrum, all close to one another, bearing the name Chalai (Tamil), Chala (Malayalam), which are forms of the Sanskrit word Sala, a shortened form of Agra-sala, feeding house or dinner hall for Brahmans. The four localities are (1) Palaya Sala, (2) Arya Sala, (3) Valiya Sala, and (4) Chinna-Chala. Perhaps there were *salas* or dinner halls in all these localities, the most ancient being that at Palaya Sala (meaning the old dinner-hall) which was presumably a Buddhist or Jain institution, while that at Arya Sala was perhaps an Arya Brahman institution.

In Vilinjam, known also as Rajendra Chola Pattanam (Rajendra Chola's Town), about eight miles south of Trivandrum, there are even now two compounds called Valiya Chola Sala Purayidam and Cheriya Chola Sala Purayidam, *i.e.*, the compounds in which the big dinner-hall and the small dinner-hall founded by the Chola king were situated. These Salas were probably instituted by Rajendra Chola himself after his conquest of Vilinjam.

For another Sala see Vol. I, *K. S. Papers*, Trivandrum, p.74, foot-note 22. Also T.A.S., I. pp.6, 7, 165 (salabhogam), 287 (agram).

3. The God in the temple at Valiya Sala is called Kantalur Sala Mahadevar, *i.e.*, Siva of Kantalur Sala. Skt. *sala* became *chala* in Malayalam, which appears again as another Sanskrit word *jwala* (flame) in the pedantic name Kantalur Jwala Mahadevar applied to the same God by people who know Sanskrit. The first Sala or feeding house at Kantalur was perhaps instituted long before the temple of Mahadevar was built there.

4. In modern Malayalam *kalam* means:

(a) A deep vessel or pot (of clay, copper, bronze, wood or other material): see *mankalam*, *pachchakkalam*, *chempukalam*, *marakkalam*. This *kalam* seems to be related to Sanskrit *kalasa*, which appears as *kalayam* also in Malayalam. The derivation of *kalasa* is unknown.

(b) In the word *venkalam* for bronze or bell-metal, *kalam* seems to have the sense of alloy or metal. This *kalam* may be of non-Indian origin or it may be derived from a Tamil root. In Tamil *kalam* has the senses of weapon and ornament. These seem to be secondary senses following from the sense of metal.

In old Malayalam *kalam* had also the sense of:

(a) A measure of capacity for grains and for paddy fields. This sense follows from the sense of deep vessel or pot.

(b) A shallow, wide-mouthed, flat-bottomed vessel of bronze or bell-metal from which rice is eaten. The full name of such a dinner plate is *parikalam* or *atikkalam*. *Atikkalam parukuka* (அடிக்கலம் பருகுக) is an old Malayalam expression meaning to take food. It is used only in the case of kings and such other persons. The ordinary Malayalam words for two varieties of indigenous dinner plates of bronze or bell-metal are *kinnam* and *kankalam* (கிண்ணம், கங்காளம்). The *kalam* mentioned in line 6 of the first document quoted in the above paper must be a *kinnam* or else a *kankalam* of bronze or bell-metal weighing 15 palams.

(c) The quantity of cooked rice that such a dinner-plate will hold. *Kalam* is used in this sense in line 4 of the above document.

5. *Aruttu* and *Aruppu* had in old Malayalam the sense of fixed, decided, or settled, and decision or settlement. *Chelavaruttu* = regulated expenses, or expended. *Chelavaruppu* = regulation of expenditure, or expense. These words have now the ordinary sense of cut or saw (present tense). *Kaluttaruttu* = cut one's throat. *Aruppu val* = a saw. In fact *aruttu* in Malayalam and Tamil has almost all the senses of *khandittu* or *parichchhedittu* (கண்டித்து, பரிச்சேதித்து) borrowed from Sanskrit.

6. *Cheralan Salai*, like Chola Salai of note 2, and Chakrasala of Vol. 1, *K. S. Papers*, Trivandrum, p.74, must have been a feeding house and not a place called after the *Salai* (note 2). It is quite possible that the Brahman authorities of the *Salai* and all the Brahmans residing in the village around it objected to their institution passing into the hands of the Chola conqueror and he had therefore to use force. We know how in A.D. 1757 the yoga or council of Namburi Brahmans in the Trichur grama (village) in Cochin refused to subject themselves and their institutions like the Vedic school (Vadhyan Madom) in Trichur to the Zamorin of Calicut during his invasion of Cochin, and the Namburippad of Karingad house replied to the Zamorin's threats in the following Sanskrit sloka:—

മാടക്ഷമാരമണബാഹുബലാഭിഗുപ്താ
സേയം സഭാ പരവഃശതി ന ശങ്കനീയാ;
ഏകാകിനീ നിശിചരാലയമദ്ധ്യഗാപി
കിം രാമഭദ്രദയിതാ ദശകണ്ഠ മാപ?

(Matakshamarmana bahubalabhigupta
Seyam sabha paravaseti na sankaniya;
Ekakini nisicharalayamadhyagapi
Kim Ramabhadradayita dasakanthamapa?)

(Matakshama = Cochin). This audacious reply incensed the Zamorin who therefore resumed the invasion with redoubled vigour. See *Charitram* by Appan Tampuran, Trichur, 1089 M.E., pp. 46-48.

7. No fleets appear to have been maintained even in the celebrated ancient Malabar ports of Vilinjam and Quilon.

T.K.J.

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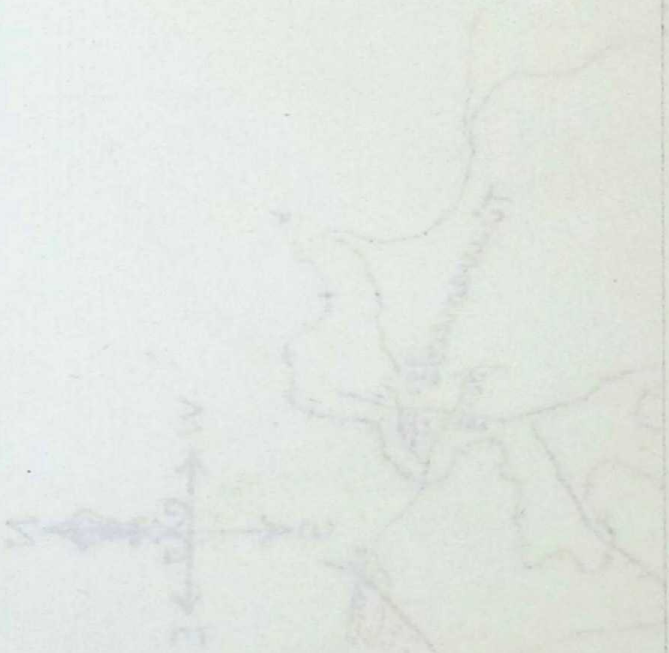
APPENDIX I.

Inscription of Rajendra Chola (A.D. 1013-1045) from the Mahadevar Temple at Chalai, Trivandrum.

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ திருமன்
2. னிவளர இருநிலமட
3. ந்தையும் பொற்ச்ச
4. யப்பாவையும் சீர்
5. த்தனிச்செல்வியுந்தன்
6. பெருந்தேவியராகியின்புற
7. நெடிதுயிலுழியுள் இ
8. டைதுறைநாடுந், துடர்வ
9. னவேலிப் படர்வன
10. வாசியுஞ், சுள்ளிச்சூழ்
11. மதில் கொள்ளிப்பாக்
12. கையும், நண்ணற்கருமு
13. ரண்மண்ணீக்கடக்க
14. மும், பொருகடலீழத்தை
15. யர்தம்முடியும், ஆங்
16. கவர்தேவியரோங்கெழி
17. ல்முடியு, முன்னவர்பக்
18. கல்தென்னவர்வை
19. த்த சுந்தரமுடியும், இ
20. ந்திரனரமும், தெண்டி
21. னை ஈழமண்டலமுழு
22. தும் எறிபடைகேரளன்
23. முறையில் சூடுங்கு
24. லதனமாகிய பலர்புக
25. ழ்முடியுஞ் செங்கதிர்மாலை
26. லயு... ....

S.D.P.



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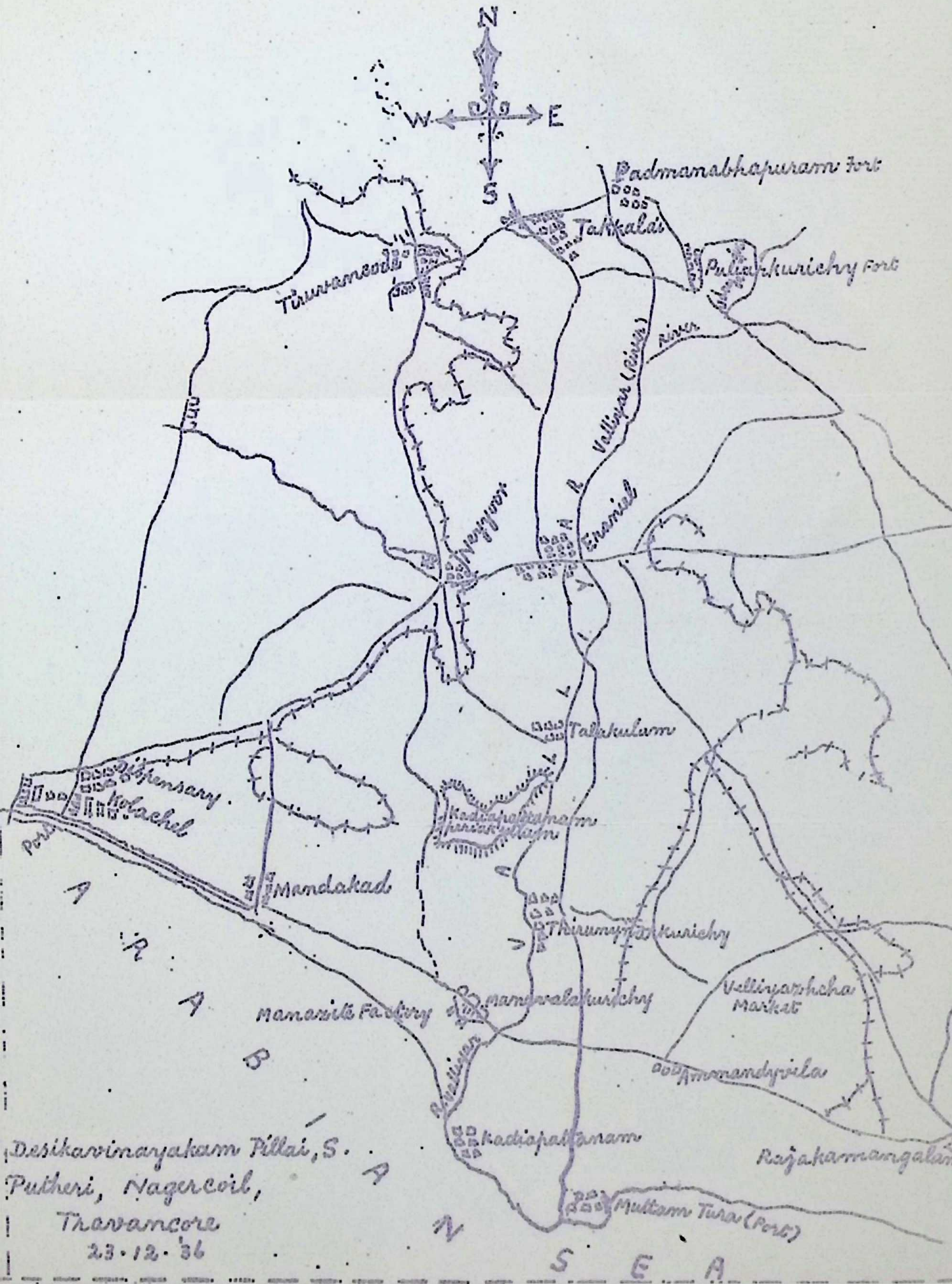
'KALAM' LOCALITIES

Scale 1" = 1 Mile



Desikavinayakam Pillai, S.
Putheri, Nagercoil,
Travancore
23·12·'36

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APPENDIX II.

KEY TO THE SURVEY PLAN.

1. *Talaikkulam* (தலைக்குளம்). A village in the Eraniel Taluk. It is referred to in the Suchindram inscription of Parantaka Chola, 'the first Chola king who extended his conquests as far south as Kanyakumari' (T.A.S., I. p.292). There is an ancient Vishnu temple here.

2. Tirunayinarkurichchi (திருநயினர் குறிச்சி). Situated on the river Valliyaru (வள்ளியாறு), a little to the south of Talaikkulam. It is only a very small hamlet. The temple here is known by the name of Karaikkandeswaram (கறைக்கண்டேசுவரம்)—the temple of the Lord with a stained throat.

3. Kadikaipattanam (கடிகைபட்டணம்). An ancient seaport well-known in the time of Raja Raja I. In one of the unpublished Mudaliar documents, its other name is given as Periapirattichchaturvedimangalam (பெரிய பிராட்டிச் சதுர்வேதிமங்கலம்).

4. Periakulam (பெரியகுளம்). The big tank of Kadikaipattanam. A Vatteluttu inscription of Raja Raja I. dated in his 27th year is found engraved on a natural boulder on the bund of this tank. (T.A.S. VI. p.145).

5. Muttam (முட்டம்). A seaport. It was renamed Mummudi Chola Nallur (மும்முடி சோழநல்லூர்) by Raja Raja I. (T.A.S., I. p.292).

A careful study of the plan will clearly show that no fleet could ever have been maintained either at Talaikkulam or at Tirunayinarkurichchi wherein the temple of Karaikkandeswaram is situated. The name-ending Kurichchi (குறிச்சி) itself shows that the place could never have been a seaport town. Both these places are in the interior, two and three miles off from the sea-coast. Kadiapattanam and Muttam were the only seaports well known in this part of the country about the time of Raja Raja I.

(Contra: T.A.S., V. p.128.)

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APPENDIX III.

A.

1. 'ஆயிரத்து நாற்பதின் மன்சாலே என்று இவர்க்கு தர்மமாக பிராமணர் உண்ணச்சாலே' (S.I.I., IV. p.137).

2. 'இத்தேவர் கோயிலிலே கருணகரந்சாலே அக்கிரபோசனத்துக்கு கலம் ஐஞ்சுக்கு அரிசி குறுணியிருநாழிக்கும் நெல்லு முக்குறுணி ஒரு நாழியும்' (S.I.I., VII. p.260).

3. 'நிசதமிருபத்தையவர் பிராமணர் சந்திராதித்தியவத் உண்பதாகச் சாலையும் வைத்தருளினர்' (S.I.I., III. Part III. p.302).

4. 'ஸ்ரீவல்லபப் பேருஞ்சாலையான ராஜ ராஜப் பெருஞ்சாலே' (T.A.S., I. p.163).

5. 'இவ்வூர் ராஜராஜன் சாலேக்கு சாலாபோகமான ஊர்கள்' (T.A.S., I. p.165).

6. 'திருவதிக்கு சாலாபோகம்' (S.I.I., III. Part III. pp.303 & 305).

7. 'இவ்வூர் உழக்குடிகள் கொடுசென்று இத்திருமலையிற் சாலேக்கே கொடுசென்று தேவகன்மிகளிடங் அளந்து நரவுகொள்ளக்கடவராகவும்'.....

8. 'நெல்லட்டிச் சாலே முட்டாமே ஊட்டுவிக்கக் கடவோமாகவும்'. (திருவெறும்பூர் கல்வெட்டு).

9. 'சாலே சிங்களாந்தகனில் உண்ணும் பிராமணர் இருபத்தைவர்க்கு' (S.I.I., IV. p.30).

10. 'சாலேமடையன் ஒருவன்' (S.I.I., IV. p.31).

11. 'சாலே அடுவோன் ஒருவன்' (S.I.I., V. p.243).

12. திருவிடைமருதூர் சாலே உண்ணும் பிராமணர்க்கு இவனிட்ட காலம்' (S.I.I., V. p.301).

'*Upaṭṭhāna sālās* (service halls),
Aggi sālās (halls with fire-places in them),
Chankamana sālās(halls for exercise),
Udapāna sālās(sheds for the wells),
Jantāghara sālās (halls attached to the bath-rooms).'
(*Srāvastī* in *Indian Literature*, pp.23, 24.)

'The *Mahagovinda Suttanta* refers to a *Mahāsālā* as a Vedic institution for educating the *nahātakas* (*snātakas* or advanced students).' (Ibid., pp.14, 15.)

B.

1. 'இவர்களுக்கு அமுதுசெய்யக் கலம்பதினெய்ஞ்சும்' (S.I.I., IV. p.424).

2. 'இக்கலம் இப்பரிசெய் ஊட்டுவதாக' (S.I.I., III. Part III. p.240).

3. 'உத்தமாக்கிரம்கலம் ஒன்றுக்கு அரிசி இருநாழியும்' (திருவெறும்பூர் கல்வெட்டு).

4. 'பந்திருநாழிபூஜை' is often referred to as 'பெருங்கல பூஜை' in many a temple on the West Coast.

C.

1. 'அளவறுப்பதற் கரியவன்'. (திருவாசகம்–திருச்சதகம் 35).

2. 'நாடற்றமரியாதி' (*Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 596).

3. 'அசற்பற்றில் பாடிகாப்பாற்கு அற்றமரிஆதி சுபந்திறம் இடக்கடவர்களாகவும்' (Ibid., No. 799).

4. 'அசற்பாடிகாவலுக்கு அற்றமரியாதிகளும் பெற்று' (Ibid., No. 801).

5. 'இருஞ்சிறை பெருந்துறைக்கு அற்றமரியாதி இன்னியினுற்கு விட்டஅளவுக்கு' (Ibid., No. 800).

6. 'இறையூற்கு அற்றமரியாதி பெறக்கடவார்களாகவும்' (Ibid., No. 821).

7. 'நாட்டவற்கு அற்றமருவாதி நடத்திக்கொள்ளவும்' (Ibid., No. 827).

8. 'இவர்கள் பூறுவாகளில் உதையப்பெருமாள் ஆனவணி சாமர் எழுந்தருளிவித்த உடையார் திருப்பூமீசுவரமுடையநயி னுற்கு திருநாமத்துக்காணியாக பிரமாணம் பண்ணிக்குடுத்து முன்னுள் அற்ற நிற்சேயிப்பு அன்றி காணிக்கைபூண்ட இலக்கத் துக்குபகுதிமுட்டுக்குவாங்கிக்குடுப்பித்தசக்கரம்' (Ibid., No. 835).

9. 'நாங்கள் அரன்குளவர் சன்னதியிலே அறுதிபண்ணிக்கு டுத்து அந்த அறுதிப்படியிலே இற்றைவரையும் நடந்துபோதுகையில்' (Ibid., No. 698).

10. 'அறுதிமுறி' (Ibid., No. 749).

11. 'திருவதிக்கு அற்றபிறசாத காணிக்கை' (S.I.I., VI. p.39).

12. 'சிலவறுக்கும் பொன் நூற்றுஒன்றும்'. (*Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 355).

13. 'செலவறுப்பித்துக்கொண்டு' (Ibid., Nos. 359 and 898).

14. 'தாங்கள் நிச்சயித்துக்குடுத்த கடமை ஆண்டுதோறும் சிலவறுப்பிச்சுக் கொண்டு' (Ibid., No. 354).

15. 'செட்டியப்பன் வசம் செலவறுத்த பணம் ாருஙு-ம்..... செலவறுத்த பணம் ாஉ0-ம் ஆக பணம் உாஎ0-ம்' (S.I.I., IV. p.19).

16. 'தம்முடையபேற்கு முன்னின்று செலவருமல்' (Ibid.).

17. 'வச்சனைந்தி வாயறுத்தபாட்டியல்'.

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APPENDIX IV.

Raja Raja I. considered that the preservation and protection of the Vedas and Dharmasastras of ancient India and also the regulation of their studies formed his foremost duty as a great Hindu king and consequently directed his very first campaign against the Kerala country, wherein was situated the Vedic College of Kandalur Salai, the Nalanda of the South. The institution was taken possession of and reorganised accordingly.* It is this achievement that is enshrined in the laconic, nay, knotty expression *காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை கல மறுத்தருளி*, often found prefixed to the name of Raja Raja I. in almost all his inscriptions. In fact Raja Raja I. appears to have been very proud of this, his exploit at Kandalur (*காந்தளூர்*). In many of his records he is referred to only as *காந்தளூர்ச்சாலைகலமறுத்த ராஜ கேஸரி* and not by any other name or title. In support of this interpretation the following statement occurring in the introduction of the Cape Comorin record of Parantaka Pandya may be quoted:—

"†கன்னிப்போர்செய்தருளிக் காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுத்து
மன்னுபுகழ்மறையவர்தம் மணியம்பலத்துளினிதிருந்து
ஆயிரத்தெண்மர் அவிரோதம் பணிப்பணியால்
மறைபேர்த்துக் கல்நாட்டிப் பண்டுள்ளபேர்தவிர்த்து
நிறுப்பனவு மளப்பனவும் கயலெழுதி
அனந்தபுரத்தெம்மாற்கு நிலவியபொன்
மணிவிளக்கு நின்றெரியப் பத்தமைத்து."

(T.A.S., I., No.3, p.4.)

(*கன்னிப்போர்* = maiden battle; first battle.)

A learned research-scholar has, in the course of a discussion with the present writer, advanced the following

*Compare:—

(1) "Not only the Palas, who ruled over Magadha for some four centuries, contributed their mite according to the vicissitudes of the time in which they flourished to the maintenance and preservation of art and culture as embodied in Nalanda but *others also, the Gurjara-Pratiharas and others who now and then invaded Magadha, contributed their mite or, shall we say, forced the University to acknowledge their sovereignty and even record it.*"

(*The University of Nalanda*, p.61.)

(2) "கேலிகொண்ட விதிமுமதித்தும்
சாலிகொண்டதும் தண்டுகொண்டலவோ?" (*கலிங்கத்துப்பணி* 370.)

From this it is quite evident that Chalai (*சாலை*) was only taken possession of or captured, and not destroyed.

†Read Kalai makal (*கலைமகள்*), Vol. I. pp.585-590.

Koviloor Acadamy

arguments for rejecting Dr.Hultzsch's interpretation of காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுத்தருளி as incorrect:—

"In almost all the inscriptions of Raja Raja I. and his successors a reference to this particular act, whatever it may be, at Kandalur, invariably occurs at the very start. Supposing the act had referred to a naval victory it would be applicable only to Raja Raja I. and not to his successors, unless we take it for granted that each one of the successors also won a naval victory at that particular place.

"There is another circumstance which goes to strengthen the improbability of taking it to be a naval victory. One would naturally expect that in a reference to a victory the first reference would be to the enemy king against whom the victory was won. The absence of such a reference in this particular instance can but lead to one conclusion: that whatever be the nature of the act referred to, it could never have been a naval engagement or victory."

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Koviloor Acadamy

APPENDIX V.

Inscription No. 56 of Vol. III. of the *Travancore Archæological Series* begins with the phrase கறைக் கண்டேசுவரத்துக் கலமற்றயாண்டு whereof the meaning has not been correctly explained as yet. The editor has translated it thus: "The year when the ships at Karaikkandeswaram were destroyed" (T.A.S., III. p.206). I am sorry I am unable to accept the above rendering as correct. My reasons are the following:

1. கறைக்கண்டேசுவரம் is the name of a temple and not of a village, town or seaport. This temple is situated on the left bank of the river வள்ளியாறு between தலைக்குளம் and கடியபட்டணம் in the Eraniel Taluk. The small hamlet that has recently grown nearby is called திருநயினர்குறிச்சி. (*Vide* Appendix II, *ante*.)

2. Even to this day the temple is referred to in the Devaswam records as கறைக்கண்டேசுவரம் and not by any other name.

3. This is also the name by which the temple is commonly known among the people of the neighbouring villages.

4. No village named கறைக்கண்டேசுவரம் is found marked in the Survey Plan nor does a village of that name exist anywhere in that neighbourhood.

5. Inscriptional evidences also are strongly in favour of the view given above.

(a) "தென்னட்டுக் குறுநாட்டு கடிகைபட்டினத்து உடையார் கறைக்கண்டீஸ்வாமுடைய மஹாதேவற்கு" (T.A.S., IV. p.83).

(b) "இராஜராஜத் தென்னட்டுக் குறுநாட்டு கடிகைபட்டினத்து உடையார் கறைக்கண்டேஸ்வாத்து மகாதேவற்கு" (T.A.S., IV. p.85).

(c) "ராஜராஜத் தென்னட்டுக் குறுநாட்டுக் கடிகைபட்டினத்து உடையார் கறைக்கண்டீஸ்வாமுடைய நாயனர்க்கு". (T.A.S., VII. p.30).

(d) "கறைக்கண்டேச்சரத்து தேவரடியான் பெற்றான்" (Ibid., p.31).

(e) "இராசராசத் தென்னட்டுக்குறுனட்டுக்கடிகைபட்டணமுடையநாயனர் கறைகண்டீசுரமுடைய நாயனுற்கு" (Ibid., p.33).

"கறைக்கண்டேசுவரத்துக் கலமற்றயாண்டு" may be rendered into English as 'the year in which (the number of) dinner-plates (to be served up) (or the number of Brahmans to be fed) in the temple of கறைக்கண்டேசுவரம் was fixed. Or, to put it in more general terms, the year in which the scale of expenditure (படித்தரம்) to be incurred for the temple of கறைக்கண்டேசுவரம் was drawn up and settled.'

We have shown already that கறைக்கண்டேசுவரம் is the name of the temple at திருநயினர்குறிச்சி near கடிய பட்டணம். So, it is clear now that if the word kalam (கலம்) is explained as 'a ship' or 'a fleet', it will make nothing but nonsense of the whole expression கறைக்கண் டேசுவரத்துக்கலமற்றயாண்டு. For, what has a temple to do with the maintenance of a fleet of ships or the destruction thereof?

The other expression that recurs to the mind along with the above is 'தலைக்குளத்துக்கலமற்றயாண்டு' (T.A.S., III. p.202). This also has been wrongly interpreted by the editor. Here தலைக்குளம் stands for the temple situated in it. The whole phrase may be translated thus: "The year in which (the number of) dinner-plates (to be served up) (or the number of Brahmans to be fed) in the temple at தலைக்குளம் was fixed." Or to put it in general terms, 'the year in which the scale of expenditure to be incurred for the temple at தலைக்குளம் was drawn up and settled."

Cf. (1) 'திருவிடைமருதூர் கும்பாபிஷேகம்' (the ceremony of consecration of the temple at திருவிடைமருதூர்) and (2) 'சுசீந்திரம் கொடியேற்று' (the flag-hoisting ceremony performed in the temple at Suchindram).

The custom of reckoning time from some important local event such as the construction of a temple or the consecration thereof (which may perhaps be coeval with the fixing of the scale of expenditure to be incurred for the temple) appears to be a very ancient one. The inscriptions of திருக்கண்டியூர் and திருக்காக்கை bear ample evidence to it.

(1) "திருக்கண்டியூர் மஹாதேவர்க்கு ஸ்வாதி(க்கஞ்) செய் தருளிச் செல்லாநின்றயாண்டு ஈாகூசெ லாமாண்டை மேடவ்வி யாழத்தில்" (T.A.S., I. p.290).

Koviloor Acadamy

(2) 'திருக்கண்டியூர் மஹாதேவர்க்குச் செல்லாநின்றயாண்டு நூற்றிருபத்துமூன்று' (Ibid., p.293).

(3) 'திருக்கால்கைப்பெருமாள் தர்வ்வாதிச்சஞ் செய்தருளிச் செல்லாநின்ற மூவாயிரத்தெழுநூற்றையய்யாமாண்டைக் கெதிராண்டு மேடத்தில் வியாழங்நின்ற கன்னிஞாயிற்று' (T.A.S., III. p.185).

(4) 'திருக்குலசேகரபுரத்து தளிக்குச் செல்லாநின்றயாண்டு நூற்றுத்தொண்ணூற்றைஞ்சு' (T.A.S., VI. p.193).

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